1sAnonymous U-3 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

after a conference in Lithuania.

Freedom Fighter "Startas", nailed to a door of the MVD office at Naumiestis (from "borrowed" files).

J. S. Gavedov
The Executioner-in-Chief

Freedom Fighter "Tūzas" in the courtyard of the MVD at Naumiestis ("borrowed" photo).

The situation in Lithuania in 1949 is poignantly depicted by photographs reaching this country from the underground resistance movement. The above is an example. There is scarcely any change since the reports previously published in the *Lithuanian Bulletin*, but conditions have steadily worsened in all phases of life—moral, social, political, economic, cultural and military.

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p. 1a

000 While the free part of the world is engrossed in the projected Atlantic Pact, a Western Union, the holding of Soviet expansion "within bounds," the staged trials of the Uniate clergy in Czechoslovakia, of a Cardinal in Hungary and of the Protestant clergymen in Bulgaria—the Russians are consolidating and solidifying their conquests and military preparations east of the Königsberg-Sulina line of the real "Iron Curtain."

The crucifixion of a nation is best described in a recent letter of an underground leader.

"Our blood-stained hands reach out to you. It is our own blood. It flows in streams. Our burning homesteads light up the sky, nothing but blood and suffering everywhere. The summer sun does not dry up the blood nor do winter colds congeal it. This blood is only washed away by the tears of our mothers, wives, sweethearts and children as they embrace us. As we look around at the devastation of our homes, as we see the hideous crimes of violence, we forget our exhaustion, a calm, cold fury gives us strength to fight on.

"The bodies of our men, robbed, bared and mutilated lie in piles in town market places for weeks: by such display our oppressors attempt to intimidate us. Our people are spied on through the windows to discover any sorrow on the part of families for their dead. Occasionally, a mother, a sweetheart or a sister breaks down and embraces the corpse of her beloved. Then hundreds of Russians, like a pack of bloodthirsty wolves pounce upon the relatives—new victims for Siberia. There is no place, no school nor factory job for the relatives of the fallen "bandits." There is not a single village nor a home which has not experienced the terrible tragedy of reprisal.

"We shall fight for our homeland to the last. Our lives we shall sell dearly on our own ancestral soil rather than waste away in Siberia. Our bodies will fertilize our beloved soil and succeeding generations will be imbued with a greater love for this—our motherland. We pass into eternity with a mouthful of the sacred soil.

"During the past three years of fighting we have lost hundreds of thousands of lives—some fallen in battle in the homeland, others suffering in Siberia. But the three million of us keep on fighting against the 200,000,000 strong occupant armed with most modern weapons. *And we shall win!*

"Spring will come. Nothing can change the tide of our Nemunas, father of our rivers. All praise to our gallant priests—there were one thousand here in 1945, six hundred have died or are in Siberia or are with us in the forests. All praise to our students. Born freemen in a free homeland, they refuse to become enslaved. Some sixteen-year-olds, with fettered hands and feet, defiantly march to die in Siberia—with heads held high. Inhuman torture has brought about no instance of betrayal: he who has tasted freedom will never become a slave.

"The occupant fears us. Doors are never left unbarred. Our people have produced few traitors—our oppressors bear foreign names. Our own striking squads eventually take care of those few who betray our people.

"We are not cruel but we are dealing with rapacious beasts. Not one Russian died without first being warned to leave our soil. But when they victimize our people without any conscience—we simply defend ourselves.

1:Anonymous U-4 (no date)1949 RB5 Lithuanians RB5

000 "For three years we have listened to ravings regarding the paradise which would follow the Five Year Plan. Yet the situation gets worse every month. Selling our last overcoat, we buy food for our children. We work long hours to earn one tenth of what is needed to fight hunger. Our children no longer know what sugar, butter, or meat look like. After a hard day's work we must go to the *agitpunkt* to listen to what Stalin had said regarding life after five years. We go home at night with clubs in hand lest militiamen or soldiers should attack and disrobe us. A great many lives have been lost because of a well-worn overcoat. The silhouette of an approaching human figure causes us to make a wide detour. The militia "check our papers" at night—in other words, we are robbed by the representatives of "law and order." If one complains, he is accused of being a "counterrevolutionary" by drunken militiamen.

"There is very little electricity. Fences, window sills and partitions were burned for fuel. Roofs are holed. Only ten percent of our production remains in the country, the rest is moved to Russia—to the paradise where father and teacher Stalin feeds everyone with milk and honey, where orange factories are producing in three shifts, where bolognas are mined and where working people live in salons. The communists now tell us that our beautiful structures erected in 1935 and earlier were built by the working people as part of the 5 Year Plan. Should one evince the slightest doubt—he is exiled to Siberia for 10 to 15 years. Lavishly furnished shops for communists sell at black market prices. These are not for us: our one month's earnings are not enough to buy one day's needed supplies. Officially, we are all equal but—communists live extravagantly in sumptuous apartments while in the grace of their masters. They eat in separate restaurants and buy in special stores. Those who earn their bread in sweat—are hungry and ragged.

"Under armed guard we are forced to march in "the demonstrations of joy." The bayonets of the MVD troops prod us to "hail" when passing the reviewing stand. Nevertheless, our heads sag or turn away. . . .

"We are very much surprised at the timidity of the Vatican broadcasts. Why be afraid? We are not afraid to die for our Faith, for our Homeland and for Civilization! Fear not to lift your voice in loud protest! Harbor no fears for us—*nothing could possibly be worse*. We are dying, but in dying we want to know that there are people in the free part of the world who do not fear to raise their voice in behalf of the oppressed. Do not be afraid to drop the atomic bomb which our oppressors fear so greatly—we are prepared to pay this price for Freedom!"

Religion

162 According to the *Statistical Annual of Lithuania for* 1940, Lithuania—including part of the Vilnius District but excluding the Klaipėda Area—at the end of 1940 counted a population of 3,032,863, distributed by nationalities as follows:

Lithuanians	80.60%	Russians	2.35%
Jews	7.15%	Latvians	0.69%
Germans	4.10%	Whiteruthenes	0.21%
Poles	3.04%	Others	1.86%

162 The population's distribution by religion (1923):

Roman Catholics ..	80.48%	Greek Orthodox ...	2.54%
Protestants	9.54%	Other Christians ...	0.09%
Israelites	7.26%	Other non-Christians	0.09%

167 The situation has undergone a radical change in consequence of the Hitler-Stalin Pacts of 1939-1941, when "exchanges of population" and "repatriation" were applied: nearly all Lithuanian Protestants were "repatriated" to Germany as alleged members of the Germanic race, even though a great many of them had never had any German blood connections. During the German occupation, nearly all—except some 20,000—Lithuanian Jews were either exterminated by the Nazis or deported to Western Europe. The new Russian settlers had fled with the Red Army and the NKVD in 1941, speeded by the Lithuanian insurgents. Repatriates of true Teutonic ancestry had come back with the German troops and again retreated with the Nazis. Some 160,000 Poles were repatriated to Poland by Stalin's orders in 1945 and 1946.

Therefore, when the Russian regime established itself in Lithuania, the invader had to deal with an *exclusively Lithuanian Roman Catholic population*—and the imported Russian and Asiatic hordes of "masters."

795 When the Russians occupied the country in June 1940, the Church of Lithuania was organized into an Archdiocese of Vilnius (under Archbishops Romuald Jałbrzykowski and Mečys Reinys), the Metropolitan Archdiocese of Kaunas (under Archbishop Juozas Skvireckas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Brizgys), the Bishopric of Kaišiadorys (under Bishop Juozas Kukta), the Bishopric of Panevėžys (under Bishop Kazys Paltarokas), the Bishopric of Telšiai and the Prelacy of Klaipėda-Memel (under Bishop Justinas Staugaitis and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Borisevičius), the Bishopric of Vilkaviškis (under Bishop Antanas Karosas and Auxiliary Bishop Vincas Padolskis), and the Bishopric for the Armed Forces with Bishop Teofilius Matulionis as the Chief Chaplain. In addition, Archbishop Emeritus Pranciškus Karevičius and Bishop Petras Pranas Bučys of the Byzantine rite resident in Rome, were in Lithuania. Archbishop O'Rourke of Danzig, former Bishop of Vilnius, had settled in Lithuania since the German annexation of Danzig. Altogether, Lithuania had 13 Bishops and 1 refugee Bishop.

During the war, Bishop Bučys lived in Rome. Bishop Staugaitis of Telšiai died in 1943 and Bishop Pranciškus Ramanauskas was consecrated for that See. Bishop Kukta died in 1942 and Bishop Matulionis assumed the See of Kaišiadorys. The retreating Germans deported Archbishop Skvireckas and Bishops Brizgys and Padolskis to Germany. *Eight Bishops remained* in the country when the Russians again came in 1944.

Thereafter—Archbishop Jałbrzykowski was repatriated to Poland to administer the southern, Polish part of the Archdiocese of Vilnius (with the See at Białystok), Archbishop Karevičius died 30 May 1945 at Marijampolė, and the nonagenarian Bishop Karosas died 7 July 1947 at Marijampolė. Archbishop Reinys "vanished" in June 1947, soon after an alleged "interview" with *Tass*, and Bishops Borisevičius, Ramanauskas and Matulionis were either killed or exiled to

795 Russia. *Only one Bishop*—Paltarokas—was known to be *alive in* 1948, and no information regarding his present fate is available. Administrators who succeeded the martyred Bishops likewise "vanish" in MVD trucks soon after their appointment.

The official Registers of the Church, cited by the Rev. Dr. Kazys Gečys in his "Catholic Lithuania" (*Katalikiškoji Lietuva*, Chicago 1946) gave the following statistics for the year 1940:

Diocese	Deaneries	Priests	Byzantine Rite Priests	Divinity Students	Monastic Orders: Priests	Friars	Nuns	Parishioners
Vilnius	16	307	5	169	62	184	384	877,838
Kaunas	10	289	2	152				500,000
Kaišiadorys	9	163						220,200
Panevėžys	10	235						418,950
Telšiai	12	237		83	90	587	579	385,872
Klaipėda Prelacy.		11						22,150
Vilkaviškis	12	245		62				351,403
Total	69	1,487	7	470	152	571	963	2,776,422

The total number of clergy, including those of the Byzantine rite, was 1646. One priest was available to minister 1688 souls. The 1586 members of monastic congregations, included the Franciscan, Jesuit, Salesian, Dominican and Marian Orders, and several exclusively Lithuanian Orders.

794 The same author provided the following statistics regarding the number of churches as of 1940.

Diocese	Arch-Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedral Basilicas	Cathedrals	Parish Churches	Filial Churches	Non-Parochial Churches	Chapels
Vilnius		1		185 +Byz. 7	17	34	110
Kaunas	1			91	31	34	84
Kaišiadorys			1	65	2		12
Panevėžys			1	90	27	7	82
Telšiai			1	111	16	14	32
Klaipėda Prelacy ...				5		2	
Vilkaviškis			1	93	5		10
Total	1	1	4	670 +Byz. 7	98	91	330

A total of 1202 churches, embracing 681 parishes. Each church served 2310 souls.

In addition to the Roman Catholic community, Lithuania had 51 churches and chapels with 18 pastors of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 12 Calvinist (Evangelical Reformed Church) parishes with 7 pastors, 3217 independent sectarians (mostly ex-Lutherans), five Tatar Mohammedan congregations (at Vilnius, 40-Tatars, Kaunas, Reišiai and Vinkšniukai), and two Karaim congregations. Statistics are not available regarding Jewish religious communities.

652 For services rendered in keeping birth, matrimonial and burial records, the state budget of Lithuania for 1939 appropriated the following sums in Litas (1 Litas equaled $0.10 in gold or $0.16⅔ depreciated):

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Roman Catholic Church	Lt.	1,383,278
Israelite Congregation	"	105,500
Evangelical Lutheran Church	"	88,000
Evangelical Reformed Church	"	26,360
Greek Orthodox Church	"	60,360
Old Believers Congregation	"	31,920
Mohammedan Congregation	"	2,400
Karaim Congregation	"	400
Total	Lt.	1,691,718
	($169,171.80 gold or $281,483.86 current exchange rate)	

794 Comparison of the situation of the Catholic Church in 1940 with that shown in a *Tass* bulletin of April 1947 and the information provided by the Lithuanian underground resistance movement as of 1948, tells a very eloquent story:

	1940	*Tass* 1947	1948
Archbishops and Bishops	14	2	1
Clergy	1,846	1,332	400
Monastic Order members	1,586	0	0
Churches	1,202	711	ca. 600 most of survivors
Parishioners	2,776,422	"thousands"	
Theological Seminaries	4	1	0
Catholic Faculty in Univ.	1	0	0
State assistance	Lt. 1,383,278	0	Ruinous Taxes
Church Taxation	0	?	millions of rubles
Divinity Students	470	ca. 150	0
Killed or exiled clergymen	0	(silence)	75%
Catholic press 1935: number	52	(silence)	0
circulation	7,050,200	(silence)	0
Religious-philosophy books	209	(silence)	0
Sodality-Fraternity Members	900,000	(silence)	0

Naturally, the underground data does not disclose clandestine catechetic instruction by clergymen and laymen, and the secret religious press. Religious books and articles bring highest prices in the black market. All of the Catholic scientific, educational, social, athletic, labor, economic, publishing and charitable institutions, academies, schools, libraries, kindergartens, associations, sodalities, etc., were closed and their property was confiscated by the Russians.

Attempts to Create a "National MVD Church"

795 The Russian Orthodox Church is, to all intents and purposes, a branch of the secret political police—the MVD and MGB. This Church is the only religious organization tolerated in Russia, allotted newsprint and printing facilities, and sponsored by Soviet agents in the annexed and satellite countries. "Archbishop" Sergius had been sent to Lithuania in 1940 to subvert the Greek Orthodox Church of the country. This notorious personality ultimately became an agent of the Gestapo and was liquidated by the Gestapo just before the second Russian invasion. The remaining Russian Orthodox clergymen are docile and loyal servants of the MVD-MGB, inspired in part by a Russian nationalism. The few Orthodox people of Lithuania have no respect for them.

When the Protestants practically disappeared from Lithuania and the few thousand native Jews remaining in the country (some 3,000 plus about 15,000 imported Russian aliens of Jewish race) enlisted in the Soviet service, the only religious opposition is the Roman Catholic Church—which consists of at least 90%

795 of the Lithuanian survivors. *Lithuania is still "the most loyal Daughter of Rome in the North of Europe,"* in the words of the late Pope Pius XI.

661 798 The Russians continue their practice of subjecting the Catholic clergy to periodic and systematic "questioning," accompanied by physical torture and threats. Several priests became apostates. Most of the others were killed in torture chambers or exiled to Siberia, while several dozen priests enlisted with the patriotic guerrillas. Retired emiriti priests were called back to duty—as each priest must now serve 3 to 5 parishes.

874 661 798 One seminary remained for a few years. The number of divinity students was limited to 150. Professors and students were repeatedly summoned to the MVD-MGB and subjected to "pressure" and tortures in order to enlist them as agent-informers. Seminary rectors and their assistants were arrested and exiled as soon as they assumed duties. Students attended classes in churches. They were shadowed and threatened, and their number steadily dwindled as the MVD exercised more "pressure." By 1947, the number of divinity students dropped to 60. Normally 30 to 40 priests die annually of natural causes, but only 7-8 priests were graduated annually to replace the deceased. Finally, during the winter of 1947-48, the seminary was closed.

798 659 661 The surviving priests (about 400 as of the fall of 1948) could discourse on Scriptural texts in their sermons—always mindful that MVD agents were taking down notes and that suspicious Russians in the MVD-MGB offices would summon them to enlarge on translations of the suspect imputed allegories. Attacks on the Church in the official press, over the radio and at mass meetings cannot be answered or discussed: that would be "propaganda." The Stalin constitution warrants freedom of the anti-religious propaganda and of "religious belief,"—not of religious "propaganda."

Priests are continually exposed to provocation. For instance, MVD agents go to "confession" in order to provoke some remark by the priest. Sometimes a priest is summoned "to give last rites to a dying person." When the priest arrives, the "dying person" impersonated by a provocateur becomes a "guerrilla" ("bandit") and the clergyman is arrested "for association with bandits." Priests are forced to disrobe in MVD offices and to be photographed with MVD "girls." Afterward the photographs are circulated among the people. Nevertheless, the faithful are not easily misled by the alien oppressor whom every Lithuanian despises.

In 1947 there was a large scale massacre of the faithful at Kretinga when someone rang the bells of the Franciscan monastery at the time the Russians came to close it. The running people saw Russian troops bringing out the bleeding bayoneted body of a priest. Infuriated, the Lithuanians attacked the Russians with stones and bats. The Russians fired indiscriminately at the mob. . . .

No religious literature—no catechisms, missals, discourses, etc.—is printed: no paper is allotted by the government—and all printing places are state-operated. No priests are permitted to enter hospitals, schools, barracks and prisons to administer the sacraments. The priests enter gaols only as prisoners.

Since 1947, the Russians attacked the Church from another angle—clamoring against the Vatican and demanding creation of a "national Catholic Church."

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661 Priests were repeatedly summoned and urged to break with "the fascist Vatican"—or be imprisoned for "espionage" and contact with "the Vatican intelligence." In several parishes pastors were arrested and apostate priests installed, without the Bishop's blessing. Bishop's representatives were barred. Local communist officials became ardent and regular "church-goers"—but no one else went there and the Russian venture died a natural death.

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794 Finally, the Soviet authorities engaged in what may be *the final duel* between the Church and the militant atheism: decrees were published placing all "cultural monuments," viz. church structures, under the supervision of the government. The authorities attempt to impose the so-called *"dvadsatkas"*—committees of 20 members—on each parish to supervise the needs for repairs, pastor's functions, etc. One half of these committeemen are appointed by the government. As to the rest—no specific regulations are disclosed. These "committees" would have the power to dismiss pastors and accept replacements—in effect, they would nullify the episcopal authority and would control every activity of the faithful. To further weaken the opposition, the Bishops were seized and incoming administrators subjected to pressure and deprived of the means of communicatnig with the parishes.

The faithful realize the objective—the clandestine press forewarned them and coupled threats of reprisals against weakening persons together with the explanation of the real meaning of the Russian action. Under such strained conditions, churches go unrepaired rather than enjoy "government assistance" in exchange for acceptance of a *"dvadsatka."* Priests summoned before the MVD refer the officials to the Canonic Law of the Church and direct the Russians to discuss the matter with the Bishops.

A native traitor and atheist, Gailevičius, a former superintendent of NKVD prisons, is presently the "Commissar for Cult Affairs of the Lithuanian SSR." In January 1949 he published a decree in his capacity as custodian of "cultural monuments": churches must not "operate" within 7 kilometers of each other, and if several churches are found within the 7 km. radius, only one church is to be left "operating" and the other churches are to be shut down for use by the state.

In theory, this decree could scarcely affect rural churches. An intolerable situation is arising in cities, however. For instance, there are 17 churches and several chapels in the city of Kaunas. Under this decree, only one church would remain in this city of 150,000 inhabitants, of whom 60% are Lithuanian Catholics. A similar situation is bound to arise in the capital city of Vilnius with its dozens of beautiful churches, or "cultural monuments."

Serious clashes, or rather massacres of women and children, are expected to result during the forcible seizure and closing of the churches to which the foreign invader has no title.

The Italian press recently cited "reliable sources" of January 1949 to the effect that the Russians had confiscated the Cathedral Basilica of Vilnius and converted the edifice into a dance hall. This cannot be verified from Lithuanian sources at this time—but the Gailevičius decree makes this news probable.

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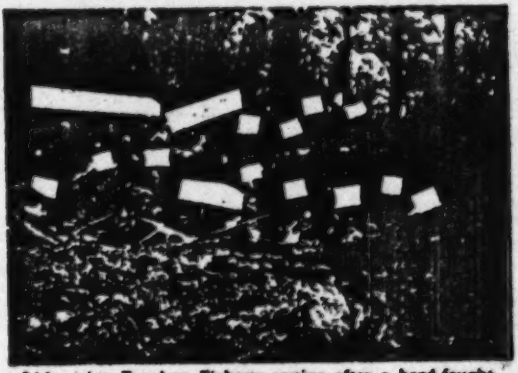

Lithuanian Freedom Fighters resting after a hard-fought battle—in Samogitia.

Religious Practices

798 659 Since the fall of 1947, the Russians abandoned tolerance of the strictly religious functions of the faithful—adults attending church and receiving sacraments. The radio, press and tens of thousands of professional agitators are engaged in blasphemous atheistic propaganda aimed at discrediting the religion as "outdated witchcraft and prejudice" and attributing "fascist conspiracy" to the Vatican. This meant that the first attempt to create a "national Church" by subverting clergy and imposing "dvadsatkas" failed. But the effort was not abandoned.

Vatican, British and American broadcasts are heard —and the more important developments are relayed to the population by the clandestine press. Needless to say that the Lithuanians, facing daily the official attack on their Church and their Catholicism, are very saddened and embittered by the complete silence abroad over the martyrdom of Lithuania—compared with the publicity given the staged trials of various Church dignitaries in the satellite countries. They especially resent the omission of Lithuania from among the Catholic nations listed in foreign broadcasts as victimized by Soviet armed atheism.

All monasteries are shut down and friars-nuns dispersed. Catechetic instruction is banned from schools, the armed forces and from private tutoring within a family circle. In 1946 the Bishops had requested the authorities to permit catechetic instruction of school-age children in church structures but the authorities refused. The parents themselves presently prepare their children for the first communion.

[626] Church-goers are watched by MVD agents conspicuously posted near church doorways, and they are shadowed and questioned. Arrests were repeatedly made inside churches by armed cap-wearing MVD gangsters who loudly profane the churches. All state employees—and all people are state employees with the exception of the "kulaks" or independent smallholders refusing to go into "artels"—receive strict warnings to stop attending religious services ("witchcraft sessions"), or their conduct will be construed as a "demonstration of disloyalty to the existing order."

Students developed a spontaneous custom: on the way to schools they stop in a church to pray. The authorities strive to eradicate this custom by summoning their parents and threatening to expel children from

659 798 schools. Teachers who openly attended churches were summarily dismissed.

[711] In spite of all these restrictions and threats, churches are well attended, especially in rural areas. Churchgoers are mostly women and people not connected with government offices and concerns, less dependent on the bureaucracy. Intellectuals and officials travel to distant places where they are not known personally to attend Mass or for confession. Rural churches, further from cities or where only small MGB-MVD garrisons are stationed, draw the largest attendance.

Religious processions on streets were not banned officially but few people dared to show themselves publicly and face the jeers of the armed blaspheming Russians and a few native traitors. The clergy discouraged public processions exposing the faithful to unnecessary persecution.

[585] Marriages are registered by local Executive Committees. Those who so desire may go through a religious ceremony but a religious ceremony is not recognized by the authorities. Marriages contracted prior to the Russian invasion were not questioned, however.

Several small Protestant congregations are still in existence in the Klaipėda District, but most of the Protestant churches were shut down and converted to other use for lack of communicants. The Calvinist churches of Biržai and Prienai were turned into military horse stables. Protestants are more or less tolerated, because the Protestant Church offers no problem to the occupant.

The pre-war Russian settlers, natives of Lithuania, regularly attend the MVD-dominated Orthodox churches. The new settlers go to churches occasionally out of curiosity.

Since the end of 1947, persons exhibiting religious icons and crucifixes in their homes came under persecution. Religious pictures and statuettes found in homes by the armed searching parties infuriate the Russians and their stooges. Religious objects are smashed, bayoneted, spat upon and trampled by the puny "masters of the world" raging against their Creator.

[65] Living quarters of the pastors—"cult servants"—were requisitioned by the housing authorities and a small nook was assigned to priests. Churches are assessed with exorbitant taxes. Complaints are answered: "If you can't meet state obligations—close up shop." The faithful exerted every effort to contribute the necessary funds and in most cases the tax levies were met. Thereupon the Russians demanded lists of contributors. The pastors answered that they did not list plate contributors—and were arrested and threatened with prosecution for "failure to account from public funds." A number of churches were unable to meet the levies, as all of the people are burdened with excessive taxes, requisitions and perennial "voluntarily assumed contributions to the state" imposed by the armed militiamen.

000 It is not known whether, since comrade Gailevičius claimed all churches as "cultural monuments" subject to his custody, churches would be taxed—that is, churches left "operating."

A church is the only place where a tortured people could find spiritual solace and escape from the blaring loudspeakers and mad ravings of the Russian oppressor.

Mockery by Soviet Embassy in Washington

000 The *USSR Information Bulletin* of the Soviet Embassy in Washington in its issue of 25 February 1949 carries a questionable "Interview with Catholic Priest." Father "Kasimir Kulakas, Dean of the Trakai diocese," was said to have been interviewed by one Josas Bulota (should be Juozas Bulota).

This tendentious compilation of lies was obviously written by a Russian ignorant of Catholic terminology and the geography of Lithuania.

It begins with the statement that in the "diocese" of the Rev. Kulakas the parishioners "attend services in 11 Catholic churches." In 1940, the Lithuanian section of the Archdiocese of Vilnius, embracing Trakai, had 185 Catholic churches, plus 7 of the Eastern rite.

The claim that "religion is not taught in the schools, but priests may give religious teaching to children outside school" is far from the truth, as the situation in the Vilnius Archdiocese (lately administered by the Rev. Kačergis) does no. differ from that in any other part of the country—as told in the preceding columns.

The alleged "interview" attributes to the Rev. Kulakas a vague statement that "the number of priests in my diocese in proportion to the number of parishioners, is sufficient—they are no fewer than in pre-Soviet times."—With more than one-third of the Catholic population of the Vilnius diocese deported and all the priests of Polish nationality repatriated to Poland—the Russians would make us believe that there "are no fewer than in pre-Soviet times" and that the number of priests is "sufficient," for the time being, 794 in the view of the MVD. . . . There had been 192 parish churches and 312 priests in the Archdiocese of Vilnius in 1940—compared with the 11 churches indicated by the Soviet Embassy in February 1949. . . .

The statement that "a total of 150 clergymen is studying at Kaunas Theological Seminary at present" —is sheer fiction, as the seminary was forcibly shut down in 1948. The professors enumerated in the article—are all in prisons or in Siberia since 1947.

"Priests in Soviet Lithuania pay an income tax on the same conditions as the members of the professions, such as doctors, artists and lawyers. No one may tax a priest more than the law provides."—But there are no free professions under the Soviet rule! Doctors and artists are on state payrolls, and former lawyers are cutting timber in Siberia or digging mines in the Arctic, inasmuch as the MVD provides its own "investigators" from six-month classes where no legal training is 651 given. Churches are taxed 40,000 to 160,000 rubles—while workers earn not more than 450 rubles monthly. . . . As for the Soviet "law"—Soviet officials follow the Mandarine rule: the sky is the limit—and Stalin lives far away. . . .

"The clergy can be prosecuted for anti-State activities under the laws that apply to all other citizens, but there has never been an instance in which a priest was prosecuted for his profession, nor for carrying out his duties as his calling requires." — But no statistics were given pertinent to prosecution "for anti-State activities" as of to date. Numerous NKVD files brought out by a number of Lithuanian Catholic priests imprisoned and tortured for nothing but their priesthood—are now available in the United States. . . .

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000 "Anti-religious propaganda is not forbidden in Soviet Lithuania, nor is religious propaganda forbidden. Like all Catholic priests, I preach the word of God freely and without hindrance from the pulpit. If anti-religious lectures are given in our city, any citizen does or does not attend as he sees fit—just as every citizen does or does not attend the services at any church according to the dictates of his judgment."

This assertion, of course, violates the wording of Art. 124 of the Soviet Constitution. Constitution, published by the OGIZ State Publishing House of Political Literature at Moscow in 1938, in English, gives the following (inaccurate) translation: "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens."

875 A direct contradiction is provided by an article of comrade V. Niunka, Minister of Education of the Lithuanian SSR, in the Communist Party organ *Tiesa* of 31 October 1948:

"Most of the teachers of the Ignalina gymnasium . . . did not rid themselves of religious prejudices, they frequently go to church thereby setting a bad example for the pupils. . . . Former director N. Petravičius is a clerical, he practices his religion, he even keeps pictures of the saints in his home . . . and categorically refuses to admit his errors. . . .

"Therefore, the College of the Ministry of Education decrees:

"1) to dismiss the following teachers from teaching duties:

"(a) Nikanoras Petravičius as a clerical and unfit to work in Soviet schools . . ." — and other teachers practicing their religious duties.

000 There was indeed a Casimir Kulak, a Catholic priest of Whiteruthenian extraction. He had been a professor of the Eastern rite liturgy and Orthodox Theology at the Roman Catholic Seminary in Pinsk. He was an erudite man, tolerant in his dealings with the Lithuanians, and a Whiteruthenian patriot—not to be confused with the Lithuanians.

It is feared that the alleged "interview" in the Soviet Embassy Bulletin may be the last we shall hear of this priest—unless from a MVD dungeon. The Soviet Embassy had once before published an "interview" with a Catholic dignitary, the Most Rev. Mečys Reinys, Archbishop of Vilnius,—and he "vanished" within a month thereafter. . . .

Resistance

668 Comrade Antanas Sniečkus, the window-dressing
186 "Stalin" of Lithuania—First Secretary of the Communist Party/bolshevik of Lithuania—had this to say in the LKP/b organ *Tiesa* ("Pravda"), No. 300 of 24 December 1947:

"It must not be forgotten that the bourgeois nationalists within the republic's territory are conducting anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation, spreading provocative rumors and, seeking to undermine the work, they attempt to infiltrate in the state apparatus.

"When German fascism lies smashed and is no longer able to aid the Lithuanian bourgeois nationalists, they expect such aid from the Anglo-American imperialists.

". . . They praise the false Anglo-Saxon democracy and idealize the bourgeois system of America and England.

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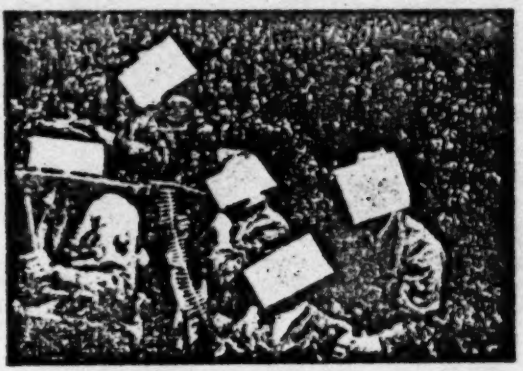

Freedom Fighter recruits undergoing training in machine gun firing—Dainava Area in Lithuania.

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186 "Among the bourgeois nationalists combatting the people, an important part is played by the reactionary section of the Catholic clergy who try to utilize the religious convictions of people in the interest of the exploiting classes.

"... The interest of the Lithuanian people demands that the bourgeois nationalists be smashed as soon as possible. We have every means to accomplish this.

"The speedy destruction of the bourgeois-nationalist underground depends to a great extent on a successful expansion of combat against the relics of influence of the bourgeois nationalist ideology among certain sections of the population, and on a re-education of our republic's working people in the spirit of Soviet ideology."

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186 A year later, on 14 December 1948, all the major press agencies commented the article of comrade A. S. Trofimov, new secretary of the "Lithuanian" Communist Party Central Committee, in a December 2 issue of "Soviet Lithuania." The Russian comrade called to mobilize the Party's forces for the "liquidation of the remnants of the bourgeois-nationalist underground" which "spreads provocative rumors, and steals into the Government system and into factories," "intimidating and murdering Soviet folk" in an effort "to hinder the great work of restoring and expanding the people's economy."

At long last, comrade Trofimov received a Russian translation of his fellow-secretary's article written a year earlier....

There had been such articles in the Soviet press ever since the imposition of a Russian regime upon Lithuania—and there will be many more such articles as long as the MVD-MGB will maintain the Communist Party in power over any freedom-loving country.

News of a worldwide distribution of "Trofimov's article"—plagiarized from comrade Sniečkus—reached Moscow. Comrade Trofimov's fate is not known,—but the first week of January 1949, Soviet broadcasts beamed to Western Europe hastened to proclaim that the Lithuanian "insurrectionist underground" had been "liquidated" and that everything was now in order.

Nevertheless, on 16-19 February 1949, comrade Sniečkus for four hours raved at the LKP/b Congress

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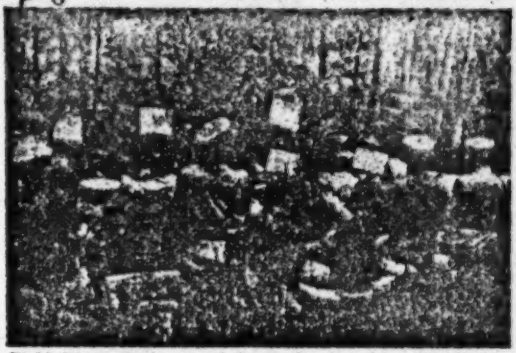

Field Dinner in honor of the graduating class of Guerrilla Officers School, Tauras Area in Lithuania.

668 186 665 —repeating his call to smash the underground, the reactionary clergy, etc. One need not be a prophet to predict that boasts of "liquidation" and threats, repeatedly made since 1945, will be reiterated for an indefinite time in the future.

Liberation Movement

668 725 Armed and passive resistance will continue until the liberation of the country—or extinction of the Lithuanian People.

The Supreme Lithuanian Committee of Liberation (*VLIK*) is regarded as the country's supreme *political* representative, and its delegation abroad is acknowledged as the Government-in-Exile. It is a coalition of all democratic non-Communist parties and combat organizations.

The actual *resistance* is coordinated inside the country by a non-partisan *BDPS*—the United Democratic Resistance Movement. Its armed forces, called FREEDOM FIGHTERS, are directed by the *VGPS*—the Supreme Command of the Armed Guerrilla Forces.

The objectives are: to counteract the bolshevik spy network; to defend and protect the inhabitants from robberies and murders; to prevent the colonization of the country by foreigners; to curb collectivization and moral lapses; to prevent the wasteful destruction of the forests and other national resources; to keep the population informed of international developments through a press network; to shelter persons passing into outlaw status; to preserve the nation's manpower and traditions of a cultural, political and national entity. In general—the aspiration is to regain state sovereignty under a democratic system, with Lithuania a member of the European Continental Commonwealth and in friendship wtih neighboring countries, including Russia. The main objective is—SURVIVAL OF THE LITHUANIAN PEOPLE. Other objectives flow therefrom.

Resistance tactics constantly change in accordance with the methods and degree of oppression by the Soviet occupant. The country is divided into Areas, and resistance members themselves know but one or two other members. The BDPS Praesidium is formed on the principle of efficiency and personal qualifications, rather than representation of various political ideologies. Force today is applied on rare occasions, whenever its use as a terrorist shock action is justified, for instance, attack on the armed convoys and trains transporting deportees.

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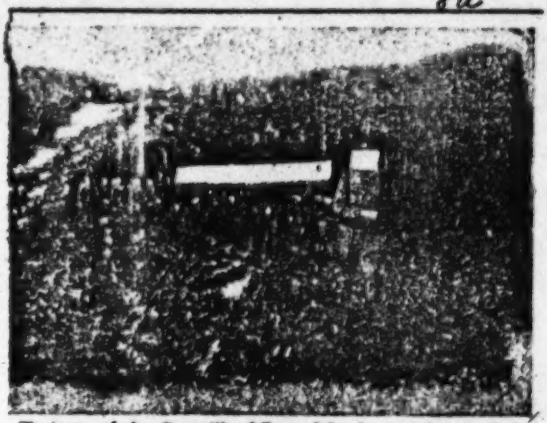

Trainees of the Guerrilla Officers School returning to their camp after field training—Tauras Area in Lithuania.

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Large-scale battles are no longer fought—they proved too costly. The Russians claimed to have "liquidated 12,000 bandits" since 1944 and estimate the present forces of the "bandits" at 40,000. The Lithuanian underground concedes considerably greater battle casualties—in excess of 20,000—and estimates the Russian battle casualties at 180,000. This seeming disproportion in battle losses is explained by the fact that the Lithuanians are on the defensive, they strike from ambush in coldly, calculated shock actions, strike a swift blow and retire,—while the Russians storm blindly in massed ranks. There is a case of a former guerrilla unit commander who, after the murder of his entire family and the destruction of his farm by the punitive detachments, enlisted with the guerrillas and accounted for 283 assorted Russians prior to his escape westward.

Unfortunately, armed action is followed by reprisals by Soviet punitive detachments which rage for weeks around the scene of a clash—while the guerrilla unit is far from the place by that time. The havoc caused by Soviet punitive hordes is so great that, despite the insufferable treatment at the hands of the occupant, the Liberation Movement strives to reduce employment of arms to an unavoidable minimum.

Uniformed armed units are maintained in the field but are used as a policing force. The guerrillas—men and women "outlaws" who cannot go back to their homes—are under orders to destroy themselves in an extremity and to take pains to mutilate their faces in death, lest their families and acquaintances should suffer. Consequently, the last hand grenade is reserved for suicidal use: the grenade is placed in the mouth and exploded. Faces of battle casualties are mutilated by comrades of the fallen Freedom Fighters when clandestine burial is made impossible. Some 8,000 men and women met death in suicidal fashion.

In 1947, a group of 8 Freedom Fighters making their way on a mission to Poland, were traced to a dugout by MVD dogs. According to Russian prisoners taken later by the guerrillas, the MVD troops showered grenades and mortar fire around the dugout. When a hole was finally pierced, solemn singing came from inside, followed by a series of explosions: all 8 men had blown themselves to eternity.

668 In the village of M . . . ., several hundred Russians encircled 6 guerrillas. The cornered patriots defended themselves an entire day. Only 3 men survived when their ammunition was exhausted. They managed to crawl toward Russian corpses, and they fought with "borrowed" weapons until all three men were blown out of existence. 60 Russians, including the MVD chief of Prienai, died.

Desecration and Reprisals

661 The behavior of Russian "repression forces" may be illustrated by several examples.

In 1948, a MVD unit called on a farmer in Marijampolė township to make a search. When the door was not opened quickly enough, the Russians fired several series of automatic fire through the door, killing the father. They broke down the door, beat up and raped the widow and her 17-year old daughter, seized everything of value and left. In a neighboring farm, the Russians raped a pregnant woman in her husband's presence, beat up everyone and left. The woman gave birth to a stillborn within a few days.

On 7 February 1947 the MVD troops of Marijampolė saw two German women beggars near the Nendrininkai village. The soldiers opened fire. One woman escaped, the other was raped by 7 men—in the sight of the horrified villagers. The same Russians encountered an elderly German woman beggaring in the Ilgeliškiai village. Learning from her papers that she was German, they killed her with rifle butts and ordered the farmers to bury her.

In Sasnava township, farmer Kukliečius and his son were cutting wood at the forest edge around their farm. Passing Russians shot them on sight, without investigating. They shot farmer Rauba in the Pinkeviškiai village whom they observed chopping wood.

In the village of Naujakaimis, MVD troops killed three youths observed walking together on the street—Valinskas, 17, B. Vyšniauskas, 18, and J. Vyšniauskas, 16. The Russians bayoneted, kicked and struck the bodies with rifle butts and did not permit the bereaved parents to claim the bodies.

In Kamajai town, Rokiškis county, the Russians descended on a widow who was inadvertently feeding seven strangers who proved to be guerrillas—6 men and a nurse. When the guerrillas refused to surrender, the Russians opened fire. The battle of 7 guerrillas against some 60 Russians lasted several hours. The guerrillas and their hostess were killed. The widow's young daughter fainted from fright and was found among the corpses. The troops ordered the neighbors to load the corpses on a truck. These neighbors seeing the girl was living—told the Russians. The latter ordered them to toss the girl with the corpses. The bodies were brought to Rokiškis and dumped on the city market place. The girl revived. She crawled and started running. Several Russian guards overtook her, passed a noose of barbed wire over her neck, and dragged her back to the corpses—strangled. This scene was witnessed by an American citizen now back in the United States.

668 Thousands of similar incidents are recorded by the underground.

661 When the MVD became too active in Marijampolė county in 1947, a guerrilla was assigned to court an

661 MVD employee and he became engaged to her. The engagement party was attended by several dozen top
668 officials, including Chairman of the County Executive Committee, the Prosecutor, the Komsomol Chairman, MVD officials, etc. At an opportune moment, the lone guerrilla liquidated the entire group of Soviet satraps, with the exception of the guest musician. Similar incidents occurred elsewhere, and the Russians now avoid gathering in such groups, unless under strong escort.

Desecration of patriots' corpses continues. Bodies are dumped in market places. Crosses and Lithuanian insignia are cut on the bodies by bayonets and scythes, rosaries "rein" the mouths, eyes are gouged, sexual organs mutilated. Bodies lie in decomposed state for weeks, as the Russians kick and spit on the bodies, dance around them, etc.

Banditry by Russian troops and militia is restrained by the guerrilla units protecting the inhabitants. For over a year Russian bandit gangs of army deserters posed a serious problem but these were eventually destroyed by the guerrillas.

The resistance movement embraces the entire country, although degree of organization differs from place to place. The Russian campaign for a memorial thanking Stalin for the "liberation" failed miserably. Lately, however, to minimize the reprisals, the underground instructed people to report to polling places and to pay lip service to "father of nations," "the great teacher and leader, protector of the working people of the world, Stalin The Sun."

668 Liaison with the underground forces in the neighboring countries is rendered difficult by the extreme nationalism of the Poles and Whiteruthenians. Collaboration is limited to specific objectives, such as assistance for passage of envoys. The underground in Poland is not unified, and there had been cases of betrayal by rival factions. Excellent contact is maintained with the Latvians and Ukrainians. Overtures from "Russian underground sources" were deliberately ignored as too risky—the Russians are so thoroughly cowed by three decades of terror and informer network that no Russian is deemed reliable.

Administration

645 The "boss" of the country is a satrap of the Kremlin—comrade *Shcherbakov*, titled All-Union Communist Party's/bolshevik Plenipotentiary for Lithuania.

In addition to comrade Justas "President" Paleckis, Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR, the Council of Ministers is made up of the following nominal heads:

Prime Minister—Mečys Gedvila (Lithuanian);

Deputy Premiers—First Deputy Pisaryov, Second Deputy Sokolov, Third Deputy Mamayev (all 3 Russians);

Council's Secretary—S. Pupeikis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Food Industry—K. Andrijaitis (Lithuanian);

Minister of Local Industry—S. Shkodin (Russian);

Minister of Fishing Industry—Andrei Zasypkin (Russian) was summarily dismissed "for inefficiency" 3 February 1949 and replaced by an unknown, "V. Mickevičius";

645 Minister of Cattle Industry—V. Augustinaitis (a Russian alien of distant Lithuanian ancestry);
Minister of Construction Materials Industry—M. Lyubimtsev (Russian);
Minister of Meat and Dairy Industry—J. Cygas (Lithuanian);
Minister of Forestry Industry—Ponomarev (Russian);
Minister of Heavy Industry—Teodin (Russian);
Minister of Agriculture—V. Vildžiūnas (Lithuanian);
Minister of Communal Economy—A. Sveschov (Russian);
Minister of Social Security—J. Stimburys (Lithuanian);
Minister of Health Protection—S. Banaitis (Lithuanian);
Minister of National Feeding—Laurinaitis (Lithuanian);
Minister of the Interior (MVD)—General Bartašiūnas (Russian under an alias);
Minister of State Security (MGB)—D. Yefimov (Russian);
Minister of Technical Cultures—V. Aleknavičius (Lithuanian);
Minister of Commerce—A. Ivalkevičius (Lithuanian);
Minister of Education—Vladas Niunka (Lithuanian, replaced J. Žiugžda);
Minister of Finance—A. Drobnys (Lithuanian);
Minister of Foreign Affairs—Ignas Gaška on 27 January 1949 replaced Povilas Ratomskis (Lithuanian);
Chairman of State Planning Commission—Šumauskas (Lithuanian);
First Secretary of the Communist Party/bolshevik of Lithuania—Antanas Sniečkus (all other secretaries are Russians).

Comrade Suslov was promoted to a post in Moscow. Wherever "Ministers" are Lithuanians, the entire business is transacted by their Russian "Deputies." Proceedings of the "Cabinet" are conducted in Russian exclusively, but decrees of the "Party and Government" are published in two languages.

Regardless of the "Constitutional Amendments" of 1944 authorizing "Union Republics" to form national ministries of armed forces and foreign affairs—there is no national Soviet Lithuanian army and no ministry of war. A ministry of foreign affairs exists on paper as a propaganda measure: the policy is transacted by Moscow and the ministry of the Lithuanian SSR is lodged in two rooms adjoining the MVD headquarters. The "minister" Ratomskis, a former clerk of the Soviet Consulate General in New York, was assisted by several Russian clerks. Žiugžda, son of the former education minister, formally trained in Moscow for a diplomatic post in Washington, still walks the streets of Kaunas.

In the upper posts of the administration, the Lithuanians occupy roughly 30%. In the lower posts, the ratio is roughly 50/50. In the cities, Russians and Jews predominate; in rural areas—Lithuanians. In the MVD, the upper personnel is exclusively Russian, in the lower echelons there are natives and interpreters. In the MGB service, the natives make up 10%.

186 668 The Russian occupation receives no popular support from the masses. Of racial Lithuanians, only a few hardened communists and several thousand released criminals turned collaborators.

There is a definite trend to exclude even Lithuanian communists. In all of the periodic purges, it is the Lithuanian communists who suffer disgrace, expulsion and exile, while Russian embezzlers retain their posts. An "Anti-Cominform" morale is pronounced among the Lithuanian members of the LKP/b. Party and non-Party Lithuanians are still found in the less important "high offices." However, not a single Lithuanian holds an administrative post in any office connected with the military effort. This trend is pronounced even in the distribution of "ministerial" titles.

655 All communications—railroads, waterways, ports, post offices, telegraph, radio, telephone, aviation and highways—are under a centralized "All-Union" control: there are no "ministries" for any communications. A few Lithuanians are still encountered among the MVD railroad guard personnel but their number constantly dwindles.

486 Travel inside Lithuania to a distance of 200 km. is not obstructed, with the exception of the "prohibited zones" along the Polish frontier and the seacoast, where special permits from the MVD are required. Otherwise, traveling permits are issued by employing offices. Of course, every traveler must submit to numerous checkings of the papers by armed patrols.

There is no frontier with East Prussia and Latvia, and the same general travel rules apply to journeys to Latvia and East Prussia. Nevertheless, it is deemed safer to procure a "*komandirovka*" (dispatch orders) even if the destination be less than 200 km.—a "detour" to Siberia must never be overlooked. The Latvian frontier is crossed mostly for black marketing. It is possible to go to Byelorussia and into the interior of Russia with a permit issued by a local MVD or Executive Committee. "*Komandirovka*" is required for travel by air.

[191] Transportation tickets, birth, death and other records are printed in Russian and "local" languages. Nevertheless, it is not a rare phenomenon to hear in response to an inquiry in Lithuanian: "*Neponimayu etovo sobachevo yazika*" (I do not understand this canine language).

Mobilization and Demobilization

727 Of the so-called "Lithuanian Units," only one survives—the 16th Infantry Division stationed in Vilnius. The enlisted and non-commissioned officers personnel is roughly 80% Lithuanian, but the officer cadres are predominantly Russian on all levels. Orders are given in Russian. Colonel Motieka is the Divisional Commander, and political "General" Macijauskas is Deputy Commanding Officer. All other mobilized Lithuanians are dispersed throughout Russian units.

701 During the war, men of the classes of (birth) 1895 through 1926 were drafted. After the cessation of hostilities in Germany, a few men were demobilized, others were assigned to various Labor Battalions and moved to Russia. Those serving in MVD units were retained in the service. Men born prior to 1923 were demobilized from strictly military units of the Soviet Army.

701 Mobilization generally failed during the period of hostilities. The majority of men managed to secure themselves in the "armored institutions" exempt from draft, others went into hiding, and a small number reported for duty. Many men in hiding were killed or wounded and exiled during the "*oblavas*" (manhunts and searches).

702 After the war, classes of 1926-1928 were called up for training. Presently, men born in 1929-1931 are in training. The basic training takes place in Lithuania and East Prussia. The trainees wear their own clothing and provide their own food: each week they are drilled 4 days and then are told to proceed home and bring back food supplies for a week. When training is completed, men are dispatched to Russian bases, some are assigned to the 16th Infantry Division stationed in the homeland.

702 There is no officers school for Lithuania specifically. However, in all university and college level schools 874 military training is obligatory for men and women throughout the years of schooling, 4-5 hours weekly. Reserve commissions in respective specialties are given upon graduation—Junior Lieutenantcy to Captaincy, depending on the degree of success in passing the examinations of the Military Chair ("Cathedral"). General Karvelis, a former artillery officer of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military "chair" in the University of Vilnius, assisted by Colonel Purelis. General Vincas Vitkauskas, former commander-in-chief of the Lithuanian Army, heads the military chair in the University of Kaunas. Lectures are given in Russian and Lithuanian, depending on the lecturer's ability to speak Lithuanian and the composition of his class. The lecturing personnel is one-half Russian. Orders are given in Russian.

[872] In secondary schools, military training is likewise compulsory for both boys and girls, beginning with the basic first grade.

War Preparations

712 Klaipėda (Memel) is converted into a major submarine and naval base.

723 During the first half of 1948, regular Soviet Army forces (exclusive of the Navy and MVD-MGB units) stationed in Lithuania numbered about 80,000 men of infantry, artillery, aviation, armored and tank units. The artillery is concentrated along the seacoast.

Airfields are continually expanded to accommodate transport craft but the number of planes shifts—the planes refuel and take off. Nevertheless, some "destroyers" (fighter planes), light bombers, reconnaissance and training planes are permanently stationed. Radar installments are in evidence, but do not seem to be alerted. Three "rocket artillery" airfields were constructed at Lisbergylas-Linksmakalnis in Kaunas, at Vilnius, and in Mažeikiai county in the northwest. Little is known regarding the closely guarded secret weapons of "Toxin Fog" and "Thermite Artillery." Aviation training schools are in operation at Vilnius and Kaunas, but no Lithuanian students are admitted there.

According to Russian officers, Estonia and Karelia form "Zone A of the Strategic Area of the Northern Front," while Latvia, Lithuania and East Prussia form "Zone B, an auxiliary strategic and supply area for the operational area of Poland."

712 If these officers speak the truth, the Soviet Army
723 seems to place many hopes in the "first line of rocket artillery" resting on bases in Finland, Karelia and Estonian islands, a part of the "Leningrad Offensive Area." Lithuania and East Prussia serve as "the second line and the security zone of the connecting road junctions."

In addition to elaborate installations on the Estonian islands and the tip of Kurzeme, fortifications are constructed along the line running from the port of Liepaja in Latvia, through Mažeikiai, along the upper Venta river, down the banks of the Dubysa southward to the Nemunas river, and up the Nemunas to the stronghold of Gardinas-Grodno. Ramifications of that underground fortified line give an impression of two fortified belts, with extended strong points at intervals. Underground fuel oil dumps, and steel and concrete munitions dumps are constructed. The fortified points are circled by medium sized airfields cleverly masked as "pastures" or "planted fields." Subterranean fuel dumps, more or less 3 meters deep, radiate 2 to 10 km. from such airfields. However, some of these dumps are intended for fuel other than gasoline. Inasmuch as these "magazines" lie near the main communication arteries, it is supposed that these dumps are intended for the long range rocket artillery—a weapon well developed by the Soviets. The sites are closely guarded by MVD garrisons, and labor crews are isolated from the natives. The work was done by military engineer units and labor gangs brought from Russia.

717 A larger airfield is located near Šiauliai. About 30 twin-motored fighter planes of new production are stationed there, in addition to more than a dozen old-type 2-U machines and several long range (up to 2,200
707 km.) bombers of new type. This is said to be the training base of the "Northern Front," where exercises for offensive action against Western Germany, the British Isles and Scandinavia are staged. An auxiliary base was constructed nearby in 1948.

000 Since July 1948, large MVD-MGB units, hospital trains and cavalry brigades were concentrated around Baranowicze and southward to Lviv, and additional air squadrons flew toward Pomerania. Simultaneously, large troop movements by railroad were observed toward Königsberg, and munitions trains rolled westward day and night for several weeks. It seemed that the Russians were expecting hostilities over Berlin and were moving reinforcements and supplies to Germany, and concentrating repression forces for another wave of mass deportations from Lithuania, in accordance with the orders of the Politburo relayed by MGB Abakumov.

Part of these troops were later diverted to Lithuania. A state of insurrection was deliberately provoked in connection with forcible collectivization, and an "operation" of deportations was effected.

Repression Forces

625 The MVD forces stationed permanently in Lithuania number at least 30,000 men, mainly infantry and motorized units. A MVD school is operated on Duonelaitis Street in Kaunas, where MVD officer candidates are trained.

The MGB forces number about 40,000 men, of whom 10% are Lithuanians. A MGB officers school

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625 operates on the Gediminas Street in Vilnius, and nearly 30% of its cadets are Lithuanians. Small tank and reconnaissance planes are at the disposal of the MVD and MGB forces.

The People's Militia is part of the MVD, and most of the Lithuanian personnel is found there. The *"Istrebiteli"* ("Exterminators") are a part of the MGB. The "Istrebiteli" were devised in the spring of 1945 to combat "political bandits." Guerrilla activities were widespread at the time, and the Russians attempted to enlist about 30 native "Istrebiteli" in each township. All sorts of inducements and privileges were offered, including exemption from draft. Native Russians, gypsies and Polish-speaking city vagrants enlisted, as well as some Lithuanian youths anxious to escape the draft. The guerrillas, through the underground press and through their relatives, waged a very strenuous campaign against the "Istrebiteli." Recruits were ambushed and killed. Their ranks were depleted in skirmishes, when untrained raw recruits faced the veteran guerrillas. After each skirmish, the guerrillas circulated mimeographed appeals to "brothers," urging the "Stribs" to abandon the enemy and either join the guerrilla forces or seek a legal status somewhere in the country, rather than aid the oppressor in destroying their own people. This campaign was successful: few Lithuanians enlisted and the recruits deserted.

725 625 The Russians used the "Stribs" in collecting compulsory grain quotas and taxes, and these functions made them universally hated. The inhabitants slyly derided the "Stribs" and *"Stribikauliai"* (deformed hips), etc., just as they referred to the "great" comrade Suslov as *"Sušlava"* (trash sweepings). The "Stribs," receiving weapons but no uniforms nor food from the government, followed the example of the Russian tutors and engaged in wholesale robberies, murders and thefts. Farmers in no way connected with the resistance defended themselves with axes and scythes.

Such "living standards" rapidly depleted the once formidable force. In most places, only 2 or 3 "Stribs" survived in individual townships. These were finally incorporated in the uniformed MGB units. Township contingents were complemented by Russian aliens, a dozen to several dozen men in each township. Reserve units of the "Stribs" are stationed in county seats. These "operational MGB aktivs" roam the countryside night and day. They search homes, collect taxes, grain quotas, seek the hiding places of the guerrillas, detain people, and shoot suspects on sight—capital punishment was "abolished" in Russia....

Frontier Corps units are stationed along the heavily guarded and fortified Polish frontier, and on the seacoast. MVD railroad units guard railroad stations and depots and check passengers' papers on trains. Combined MGB-MVD patrols (jeeps, armored cars, armored motorcycles, and tanks) control the main highways, especially at night.

War Psychosis

723 722 Preparations for war are in evidence everywhere. New airfields are constructed, old fields are expanded and modernized. Armored units, air squadrons and artillery are constantly in transit. Closely guarded military trains travel by night. The populace is kept in a state of nervous war tension—probably to provoke

723 "latent enemies of the people." Mobilization exercises
722 are periodically staged, to test the apparatus. Speakers addressing mass meetings denounce American and British "imperialists" and "warmongering aggressors." War morale permeates the administrative apparatus, the Party and army circles. Workers are urged to strain every effort for the "defense of the Soviet motherland" and to increase the output.

[207] Radio listening sets are still in existence. Their number is considerably smaller than before the war, inasmuch as permits are required. Such permits are given by the authorities to "loyal citizens" and every applicant would automatically place himself under suspicion. "Radio points" are installed in KP/b clubs, "Red Corners," and loudspeakers blare out the broadcasts from Vilnius and Moscow.

Nevertheless, several hundred unregistered radio receiving sets are owned illegally, and foreign broadcasts are heard.

Population and Minorities

162 Lithuania presently has roughly 2,300,000 inhabitants—a loss of 200,000 within the single year 1948. However, over 200,000 Soviet nationals—armed forces, MGB, MVD, and settlers—replaced the natives. The colonists settled where the long arm of the guerrillas cannot reach them—in large cities and in the areas where there were Russian settlements prior to 1940: in Zarasai county, and at Jonava and Kruonis. Russians are also settled in the Klaipėda District and in the western areas (Samagitia) which were largely depopulated by the retreating Germans and several "operations" of the MVD-MGB. Few Russians settled along the Polish-Lithuanian frontier and some 20,000 Lithuanians "repatriated" from Poland were moved there. East Prussia—in both the Russian and Polish-annexed sections—is settled predominantly by White-ruthenes (Byelorussians), presumably in an attempt to erect a Whiteruthenian "wedge toward the sea" which would finally cut off Lithuania from the Baltic.

Kaunas has a population of 150,000, of whom 60% are Lithuanians. Vilnius has a population of about 160,000, of whom 37% are Lithuanians, 23% are Poles, 40% are Russians and others. There is no longer a separate Polish underground since the "repatriation" of Poles.

There are practically no native Germans left, but there are thousands of German vagrants, mostly women and children who seek food and work on farms. Some Tatars, Karaims and Gypsies survived.

563 About 3,000 native Jews stayed in the country and some 15,000 other Jews arrived from Russia. The Jews settled in the cities and occupy the more important posts in the administration. Their children attend Russian schools exclusively. For these reasons, the natives distrust Jews. Even those Jews whom the Lithuanians had saved from extermination during the Nazi occupation at great personal risk, avoid helping those who aided them. In fact, when now approached for aid to save their benefactors from deportation, they complain that "food had been bad" when they were hiding on Lithuanian farms.

In Butrimonys, where some 100 Jewish families lived before the war, only several families survived. One of the surviving Jews was especially ungrateful toward the farmer who had saved him at great per-

563 sonal risk. when the Russians arrived, the Jew informed them that a person who had secreted a Jew from the Nazis might most likely secret a "bandit" from the Russians—and the poor farmer was executed and his family exiled.

000 This reasoning seems to be generally adopted by the Russians—and no "heroics" are told them. The Russians show no excitement whatever regarding the massacres perpetrated by the Nazis. They conducted no special investigation or excavations—the Nazi practices too closely parallel those of the Soviets. .....Only in instances where they were tipped off that people had been executed clothed and unrobbed—did the Russians make excavations in quest for valuables. . . . They gathered up coins, jewelry, pulled gold from teeth, and ceremoniously reburied the skeletons.

Education

874 The University of Vilnius with medical and chemistry departments, and the University of Kaunas with
871 departments of medicine, architecture, construction, technology and chemistry, are functioning. Both universities provide compulsory instruction in "Marxism-Leninism Science" and military training. A Veterinarian Academy and the lower classes of the Agricultural Academy function at Kaunas. The Pedagoguic Institute and an Art Institute with classes in scultpure, architecture, graphics and painting are open in Vilnius. The Commercial Institute is at Klaipėda. The upper classes of the Agricultural Academy are still housed in the ruins of Dotnuva.

Eighty percent of the faculty staff and student body are Lithuanians. Deputy Rectors, in charge of "political education," are Russian MVD-men. Most of the aliens are concentrated in Vilnius. The total student body numbers about 6,000 (compared with over 2,000 university students in Western Germany).

Of secondary schools, there are about 90 gymnasia and 189 progymnasia with 65,000 students, and about 20 special schools of agriculture, orchardry, gardening, forestry, cattle breeding, bookkeeping, etc. The secondary schools follow an 8-year program—a recession to the antiquated pre-1914 system. The Russian language is taught from the third grade of grammar school. All textbooks are translations of Russian authors exclusively. Prewar textbooks are withdrawn from circulation and systematically destroyed.

186 In 1944 and 1945, the National Anthem of Lithuania was tolerated as a "national song" over the radio and at some official functions, but was banned from schools. It is still sung in some churches but is no longer heard elsewhere.

876 Since 1946, school programs were systematically
626 purged of all "western bourgeois" influence. In libraries, books of western authors were replaced by propaganda "masterpieces" of Russian literature. The Michurin theory is preached, and professors are compelled to publicly "confess" their former heresy. Every dissertation on any subject must faithfully seek some quotation from Stalin and Lenin "science" to prove the infallibility. Only students whose parents never owned more than 18 hectares of land are admitted to universities—others are "outlaws."

The universities demand that matriculating students submit loyalty certificates issued by local Party offices. The University of Kaunas still adheres to the

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Press Section, Baltic Area of the Lithuanian Liberation Army. An underground newspaper in the process of printing in a forest.

876 626 Lithuanian language, but in Vilnius classes are bilingual. Technological training is favored from the top, and students themselves elect such classes for practical reasons. The Marxist-Leninist "science" is obligatory. Nevertheless, of 2,000 students of the University of Kaunas, only 13 were members of the Komsomol in the school year 1947-48.

883 665 The Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) —just vegetates: there are few Lithuanian recruits. These are found in the cities only. The Komsomol had enjoyed some success during the early days of the second occupation as a "security measure." However, when the authorities began employing the Komsomol personnel for repression, espionage, grain collection supervision, etc., the ranks dwindled. The *Komsorgs* (Komsomol organizers) are pressuring students to join the Komsomol and school directors second the efforts, but there is practically no response: in schools of 500 pupils, only a dozen or so, mostly children of non-Lithuanian race, belong to the Komsomol.

Membership in the "Pioneers"—the parody of boy scouting—is not obligatory but school authorities warn the parents to enroll their children.

In Kindergartens, communist and anti-religious propaganda is forced on little children, and teachers slyly attempt to enlist the little ones as informers on their parents and friends.

Forcible Collectivization and Duplicity

423 Unbelievable official duplicity is practiced by the Kremlin. Thus, *Izvestiya*, the official organ of the Soviet Government, in the issue No. 172 of 22 July 1948 wrote:

"The Agrarian Reform has been consummated in Lithuania. 92,000 former smallholders and the landless have received gratuitously FOR ALL TIME 659,000 hectares of land, tens of thousands horses and cows, over 100,000 houses and other farm structures.

"Prior to the completion of harvesting, over 250 kolkhozes were found in the country."

The final phrase presaged the forcible drive against the "smallholders and the landless" from whom land was seized and redistributed in order to provide statistical data to show a great Soviet "achievement," prior to driving the expropriated "recipients of the land FOR ALL TIME" into the kolkhozes. And yet,

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423 so many solemn assurances had been made on the highest authority that there would be no collectivization. . . .

The Russians well realize that collectivization means a decrease of production and a lowering of living standards. But the Soviet regime—materialistic in all its aspects—does not concern itself with materialistic calculations in its drive for forcible collectization: collectivization is a part of the "ideological drive." That is, a part of perfecting the POLICE REGIME.

There were no "estate owners" or "peasants" in Lithuania: Lithuanian agriculturists were all dignified and self-respecting medium and small FARMERS, HUSBANDMEN, who produced enough to maintain comfortable living standards, provided gradual accumulation of farming machinery, earned income enabling them to send their children to universities. They entered specialized fields of production—dairying, cattle breeding, sugar beet production, fowl raising, pig breeding, etc. Lithuanian agricultural economy enabled the country to export annually increasing quantities of the highest grade butter, eggs, cheese, hams, bacon, canned meat, frozen meats, flax, bristles, casings, lard, etc. The farmers lived in isolated homesteads, rather than in Russian-type clustered villages. They enjoyed privacy in their homes surrounded by orchards and flower gardens and crosses.

But, from the Soviet point of view, individual farming tends to maintain "rugged individualism," independent thinking, self-reliance, self-respect, dislike of a police interference. Production by independent farmers cannot be controlled by the most precisely calculated estimates—and the Russians are thinking in terms of simple grain production, rather than specialized varieties of agriculture. Russian officials can never be certain whether the last ounce had been squeezed from an independent farmer.

And a farmer living in his isolated homestead escapes the continual surveillance of the MVD network of spies! Walking off to his orchard, garden or grove, he could maintain liaison with the "people's enemies" and "political bandits"—and every independent-thinking Lithuanian is either a "political bandit" or a "people's enemy" in the Soviet mentality. He could supply the "bandits" with food or clothing, or shelter them at night. This is the most "criminal" aspect of individual farming.

474 In the kolkhoz—it is quite different.

626 Hundreds of families are herded into a closely guarded enclosure where each person is assigned so much "living space" and has no choice in selecting either the "breathing space" or room mates. A few dozen armed MVD troops guard the huge estate bared of all tree vegetation. There is no chance for "hoarding" or secreting a part of the production which is checked in the field by Party officials. No one can enter or leave unnoticed and unquestioned. Every fifth person is an agent informer of the MVD. No one can leave at night or maintain any contacts unsurveyed by the MVD. Everyone can be depended upon to report dutifully for casting his or her ballot at periodic "elections." No one owns any property, except the few pieces of furniture, bedding and personal rags. No one can read the clandestine press unobserved by the agents. No one can own a radio set or listen to clandestine broadcasts. There are "red corners" supplied with ample official propaganda literature and a radio

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tuned to either Vilnius or Moscow broadcasts deemed proper by the authorities—and loudspeakers are installed so that no one can escape hearing such news. And there is no church or chapel—no one can leave to attend religious services.

In fact, the kolkhoz is a CONCENTRATION CAMP OF STATE SERFS. The Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union published a decree on 7 July 1948: "No one may leave the kolkhoz or any section thereof without permission of the authorities." The serfs must produce their quotas of work—or face a trial for "sabotage."

The *Izvestiya* article of 22 July 1948 was preceded by a boast of comrade Sniečkus, First Secretary of the LKP/b CK: "659,000 ha. of land were seized from estate owners and redistributed to smallholders and the landless." The gratuitious gift of land "for all time" of 15% of all cultivated land area of the country was coupled with a boast of comrade Sniečkus: 900 farms in Šiauliai county were merged into 32 "co-operative artels."

Soon after the gift of land "for all time," the Riga radio broadcast on 30 August: "Sooner or later, *all* of the farmers of Latvia *must* go into kolkhozes." This tune was immediately echoed in the press of Lithuania: those refusing to go into "co-operative artels" were branded "state traitors." . . .

Collectivization Procedure

474 Prior to 1948, there were 20 kolkhozes established in the depopulated and Russian-resettled District of Klaipėda and areas of Vilnius vacated by repatriates to Poland. Thereafter, the first kolkhozes were established among Russian Old Believer sectarians in the northeast. The first kolkhoz near Utena, in a purely Lithuanian community invaded by Russian settlers, was destroyed by the guerrillas. The serfs scattered.

In the spring of 1948, the collectivization drive was pushed.

[234] It began with the dairying farmers. Thus, the Party organ *Tiesa* announced in its issue of 11 May:

"Formerly, milk delivery quotas were fixed according to the number of cows owned by the farms. Now, milk delivery quotas are assessed according to the ratio of general land area under cultivation. The new system aims at inducing the farmers to develop the cattle industry. Furthermore, this decree is directed against the sabotage by the kulaks who falsify the actual number of cows held by them.

"On the other hand, peasants of the kolkhozes are relieved from any compulsory milk deliveries this year. Collective farms deliver milk from every hectare of land under cultivation—25 kilograms per hectare. Nevertheless, 50% reduction is granted for the years 1948 and 1949."

In the issue of 19 September 1948 comrade Sniečkus announced:

"The urgent desire of farmers to go into collective farms gained during the past spring and summer."

He cited 32 kolkhozes in Šiauliai county and new kolkhozes at Sasnava, Liūbavas and Kalvarija. At the same time he threatened a "relentless drive against kulak saboteurs" failing to meet compulsory grain and produce quotas. Numerous instances of prosecution and "loss of freedom" were cited.

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An entire issue of 2 November 1948 of the Party organ was dedicated to describing "the happiness" in the kolkhozes. "More than 300 collective farms are now found in the Republic. Their number increases apace. In a number of counties—viz., Šakiai, Šiauliai, Joniškis, etc.—peasants from entire contiguous areas now work collectively."

Eleven days later the number of kolkhozes was officially placed at 350. On 1 January 1949 the Vilnius radio broadcast that there were 600 kolkhozes in Lithuania. At the Party Congress of 16-19 February 1949 Sniečkus boasted that 22,868 *farm units were merged into 926 kolkhozes.* "Within a year the entire agricultural economy will be completely collectivized." In his four-hour speech, he thundered against "the bourgeois nationalist underground, reactionary clergy, western pernicious influences." . . .

Tiesa of 2 November 1948 quoted the new serfs as perfectly pleased with their degradation. Thus, one G. Misiûnas was quoted as saying that the Soviet regime had given him 15 ha. of land but that lately he entered a kolkhoz. "I keep one cow and am raising a pig." He received 7 hundredweights of wheat for his share of work. He also has an individual garden plot but intends to give it up, inasmuch as "the kolkhoz provides everything."

Another serf, L. Savickas, was quoted as saying that every peasant gets 5 rubles daily for his labor, plus payment in produce: the kolkhoz had already distributed 3 kg. of grains to each peasant and promised an additional 7 kg. He expects to work 516 days annually and calculates that, during a year, he would earn 6 tons of grains and about 2,500 rubles in cash. Other peasants might be working fewer days. Nevertheless, "none would earn less than 2 tons of grains."

This outlook was rudely jolted a week later, in the *Tiesa* of 10 November:

"The basic condition BEFORE the distribution of profit among the peasants of a collective farm is that—all of the duties to the state regarding deliveries and return of seed loans, must be met; obligations assumed under contracts be fulfilled; MTS (Motor Tractor Stations) be paid in produce for their work; taxes and state loan subscriptions be paid, and internal funds of an agricultural artel be created and expanded, as demanded by the regulations of agricultural artels.

"Prior to distribution of profit among the peasants, boards of the collective farms must never overlook the plans for their future development, such as construction of administration buildings, dynamo stations, new hatchery reproductors, cultural demands of the kolkhoz, etc. To overlook such important problems—means to trammel the further development of the farm."—In other words, sabotage.

The farmers know the value of the boasts of "happiness" published in the propaganda press—but do not underestimate the gravity of the warnings.

The propaganda was exported to Party comrades abroad, too. Thus, comrade Kunchin's article was published in the issue No. 181 of *Laisvė* of Brooklyn, N.Y. Comrade Kunchin described the collectivization in Joniškis county. The Party's county organization began an intensive drive for collectivization back in 1947. Farmers of the Žagarė township were forced by 4 local communists to drop all work and listen for hours to the agitators—20 such meetings were held.

474 Grammar school teachers and library managers were enlisted in the propaganda task. At long last, following a year of propaganda, "in the early spring of 1948, the smallholders Gasparaitis, Daugėla and others from Stungiai village of Žagarė township declared a desire to form an agricultural artel in their village. The initiative on the part of the working peasants was immediately supported by the township and county Party and Soviet organs."

The pattern is very clear. Following a full year of terrorization, *two persons* were finally browbeaten "to take the initiative," that is, to sign on the dotted line in the presence of the armed militiamen who had repeatedly searched their farms, requisitioned "excess supplies," beat up and cursed the farmers. The rest of the "organs" immediately "supported the initiative": 56 families at long last capitulated, rather than go to Siberia, and formed the third kolkhoz in the county...

On 18 July, four days before the *Izvestiya* article boasting of landgrants to Lithuanian farmers "FOR ALL TIME," the Moscow radio blared: *"Not a foot of soil must be left in private hands!"*

On 24 July the Vilnius radio seconded: "Individual farms are—hatcheries of kulaks and nationalist bandits," and stressed that "every kolkhoz dweller is deputized by the Communist Party not only to perform his direct duties in the kolkhoz but *assist the Party in controlling the kulak farms* in the neighborhood."

On 9 August the Moscow radio noted that "individual farms, especially in the Baltic republics, were sheltering places for the enemy's agents. . . . It is the supreme duty of the communists of Lithuania to organize kolkhozes and *destroy the centers of bourgeois and Western influence.*"

Resistance to Collectivization

661 474 *The New York Times* of 25 August 1948 published a dispatch from Paris depicting the paced up drive for collectivization. Greatest resistance was believed to exist in Lithuania.

In its issue of 17 October, the *Times* reported that "a new purge of kulaks" was expected in Lithuania. "Last May Soviet militia rounded up many Lithuanian families, ordered them to sign statements that they were moving to Siberia 'voluntarily,' and then sent them east. They were so-called kulaks."

By 14th December, the entire American press published comments on an article of comrade Trofimov complaining that the Lithuanians were dispatching to Lenin some "Soviet folk." Early in January, the Vilnius radio boasted of the *"liquidation of an insurrection" in Lithuania.*

What were the actual facts? The Russian MVD-MGB forces conducted *three "operations" of genocide* and mass deportations in the spring, autumn and winter. These "operations" were planned and ordered by the Kremlin Politburo, and comrade Gavedov was delegated by comrade Abakumov, State Security Minister of the USSR, to execute the "operations." Nevertheless, some gruesome events facilitated the improvisation of an "insurrection."

In consequence of the pussyfooting of the Allied and IRO officials, some simpleton DPs succumbed to the wiles of the Soviet repatriation missions in Western Germany and returned to Lithuania. Some of

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661 them, like the 60-year old farmer J. Kaminskas from Oldenburg, were "detoured" to Siberia. Several other
474 families were forcibly repatriated by the Russians from Pomerania—and were executed by the local authorities when they reached their homes. Having identified the former refugees, the Russians at once retaliated against their relatives. Thus, in Sudavia, Rev. Degutis of Virbalis, Rev. Zdanavičius, Rev. Drazdys, township clerk Bieliauskas of Pajevonys, Stasys Aleksa from Jakiškiai, Jonas Micuta from Kunigiškiai were executed. In distant Samagitia, Antanas Ambrozaitis, Antanas Bieliauskas and several other men were exiled to Siberia from Kretinga and their *wives were forced to re-marry*. Similar events have taken place elsewhere.

668 The guerrilla commanders felt obliged to retaliate.
725 On learning that Eugenija Kubiliūtė of Pajevonys had been responsible for some of the Russian-conducted massacres, the guerrillas attacked Pajevonys, found the girl inside the Pajevonys township office, tied her and burned down the structure with the traitor girl inside. The same night the MVD-militia outpost was attacked and destroyed. In the northwest, the guerrillas simultaneously occupied several towns and killed all the communists. Other units invaded the Klaipėda District and seized a Russian arsenal at Šilutė-Heidekrug, including tanks and artillery pieces. Several battalions of the regular Soviet Army sent to combat the guerrillas unexpectedly passed over to the enemy. . . . If there was "insurrection," that was by the regular armed forces of Russia. MVD-MGB troops were moved in and light bombers were summoned to bomb the "bandits" who retreated to the forests. As Russian reinforcements rushed to Pajevonys, a Russian munitions dump exploded. . . .

Then followed the "operation" of May 1948.

Genocide in Operation

474 Rural authorities were instructed to urge the dis-
661 possessed farmers to file applications for land allotments. Of course, none of these instructions were printed in the press. Local officials were instructed to stress that the Soviet regime wanted to endow everyone with land. When petitions were turned in, the officials informed the petitioners that land was allotted to them "in another township" and they must report to certain transportation points. When the farmers and their families, bearing their few worldly possessions arrived at the appointed places, they were encircled by MVD troops, driven to railroad depots and placed on board freight cars bound for Siberia. Conservative estimates placed the number of people deported in this despicable manner at more than 100,000.

Letters began arriving from the deportees telling about the numerous deaths while in transit. People trembled as they listened to threats made by countless agitators. Agricultural work was done listlessly. Fields were neglected. More and more failures to meet taxes and grain delivery quotas were reported in the press, announcing "temporary exile into friendly republics" of the "kulak saboteurs." People became resigned and agreed to go into kolkhozes.

668 The Lithuanian is passionately fond of his soil. How could he leave all his precious belongings and animals to the profane Russians to debase? No: he would rather burn down everything. . . .

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A unit of Freedom Fighters resting after a battle—Taurus Area, Lithuania.

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These practices meant "sabotage of a people's economy" and "insurrection." Reproached and heckled in this manner, some people broke down and could no longer stand the tirades and the violence. They seized their pitchforks, axes and scythes and turned on the hated Muscovites. Countless people were murdered. Ablebodied men fled to the forests.

All this time, the Russians were perfecting their preparations to execute the "Abakumov Order" to purge the Baltic States of all hostile element (see the Nov.-Dec. 1948 issue of the *Lithuanian Bulletin*, pp. 4-5). The indignation and desperation of the farmers offered a very convenient excuse for MVD-MGB troops to descend en masse in November and December 1948 in execution of a previously conceived plan of the Kremlin Politburo. After all, the agitators had very definite instructions: rave for hours—and some people's enemies are likely to betray themselves/ . . .

No one knows the manpower losses of the "operation" of the present winter. First reports placed the casualties at 60,000 men, women and children. But the Russians claimed that the "insurrection" was put down only in January 1949, and the "Russian system" entails retaliation against the families and friends of the "people's enemies." This means that the persecution is endless. . . .

However, the crime of genocide perpetrated by the Russians against Catholic Lithuania does not end with simple murder on the ground of a provoked "sabotage" and "insurrection." Genocide takes other forms.

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One of the refined forms of genocide is reported in the Party organ *Tiesa* of 13 December 1948:

"A serial call of the youths to the FGA (Factory Production Training) schools of Vilnius, Kaunas and Klaipėda began on 10 November. The call-up will last until 15 December 1948. One thousand youths will be called to learn mass construction skills. During the years 1945-48 about 14,000 young skilled workers entered industrial and construction concerns from the trades, railroad and FGA schools."

Graduates of such specialized schools may be sent anywhere in the Soviet Union, to "assist the fraternal republics" needing specified skilled labor groups. They have no choice—they must go where they are directed, and there is unlimited demand for skilled labor in the Asiatic "fraternal republics." Their eventual return to their homeland is doubtful.

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"Master race" gangsters—Russian MGB "istrebiteli" troops (a photograph "borrowed" by the guerrillas).

661 This is a diabolical method to take the youths from their homeland and to separate them permanently from their own people, thus depriving Lithuania of a natural growth of its people. This method entails *double genocide*—the destruction of a *national* and *religious* minority. There is but one lone Catholic church in Russia—in Moscow, for foreigners. The Lithuanian Catholic youths of school age are doomed to live among heathen Russians and Asiatics, far from the influence of the Catholic Church. . . .

Few young people are seen in Lithuania. They are either drafted into the Soviet armed forces and labor battalions, or are working in Russia as skilled workers, or are with the guerrillas in the forests. Natural family life and procreation are made impossible. The Lithuanian People as a nation is being starved, crucified and wiped out by the Soviet aggressor whom Lithuania had considered a friend during the years 1920-1940.

Death March

000 A guerrilla officer vividly described his impressions of viewing a column of the deportees in Vilnius.

"As the last rays of the sun were growing longer, just like our sufferings under the increasing oppression, my hopeless eyes gazed into the street.

"Suddenly, armed soldiers with fixed bayonets turned the corner and chased people off the street. A long column of men was approaching—an ordinary sight these days, the third one I had seen that week.

"Two days earlier, a woman fell into a manhole in her flight when MVD soldiers were chasing the people off the street. She clung to the manhole's edge. The soldiers stopped the column, pulled the woman to the street and mercilessly clubbed and kicked her—I can still hear her cries. . . .

"Two weeks earlier, the 15-year old son of my neighbor was marched past this house. I watched Juozukas passing his home. The boy raised his hand and shouted: "The regime of bandits will eventually come to an end! I shall return, my dear parents, do not fear!"—But a rifle butt was already descending on his shoulders. . . .

"The column came nearer. I strained my eyes to see if I knew anyone.

"Yes—there was my former professor of Lituanistics. A tall man, his head held high, hatless. Doubtless, he carried his hat in hand to be recognized easier. . . .

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000 How tired he looked! His cheekbones protruding, his face yellow, nothing but rags on his emaciated body. And yet—his head was high and he looked straight ahead! He marched as a soldier past the reviewing stand. I was proud of him: he meant what he used to say in those good old days: "Don't be like reeds swaying in the wind. Be firm, be individual personalities!"

"Detained but a month ago, there he was marching past my window to Siberia. . . . He reeled. . . . His comrades quickly grasped him—and the professor marched again, with heavier steps. . . . The column disappeared in the growing dusk. . . .

"I waited by the window. The cursing and stray shots of soldiers died down. . . . I descended to the street and walked toward the railway depot—maybe I could see him once again—just to impart my farewell through eyes.

"But cruel Mongol faces blocked the approaches. I stopped—looked around. An old woman peered anxiously at the long train seen in the distance. A young woman with unshed tears stood nearby. . . .

"Several MVD soldiers came forth and shouted to run for our lives. As they spoke, bullets ricocheted from the walls overhead. . . We ran. . . .

"I found myself climbing the stairs to the shrine of the Blessed Virgin of Aušros Vartai. I knelt and begged Our Lady to help us in our present misfortune. . . .

"Suddenly, as the train whistled, I heard singing from a distance. Our exiles were singing that great hymn of Lithuania: *"Dievas mūsų gelbėtojas ir stiprybė. . . ."* (God, our shelter and strength!)"

Economic Oppression

Latvia and Estonia had been subdued prior to 1948 and little resistance had been offered to the forcible collectivization. Lithuania suffered heavy blows throughout 1948, mostly due to the desperate resistance against collectivization and terror. A proud and stubborn people steeped in traditional sense of human dignity, self-respect, passion for their native soil, for Christianity, and despising the exhibitionist masters of the country—cannot be broken! THE LITHUANIANS WILL EITHER REGAIN THEIR FREEDOM—OR DIE TO THE LAST MAN! Living in individual homesteads or in kolkhozes, they will—unlike the Russians—sporadically rebel whenever the limit of their patience will be reached and their sense of dignity outraged. Russian sadism and cruelty will not affect the people's determination.

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423 652 In 1948, the life of independent farmers was not easy. The land was nationalized. The norm of land parcels left to private "management" by former owners varied in the districts. Arable land was evaluated according to the scale of "third-class land," and a production equivalent of up to 30 hectares was left to private "exploitation." Where the land is of better grade, plots are smaller. Wherever the communists tagged a "people's enemy" classification on the owner, only 5 ha. of land were left.

Norms of compulsory levies "in nature" also vary. The quota is assessed per hectare, and the norm for persons with larger plots is greater per hectare than that levied on managers of smaller plots. A cow-owning urban dweller who does not own a single square foot of soil, must deliver 12 kilograms of butter annually to the state. Payment for "tax in nature" de-

423 liveries is niggardly. For instance, 2 pre-reform rubles were paid for a hundredweight of rye, but the state
656 resold the grain to the worker as baked bread at the rate of 3.5 rubles per kilogram. In the black market, the hundredweight of rye sold for 1,200 rubles.

Failure to meet the assessed produce quotas is harshly penalized: cattle are confiscated, families are dispossessed and sentenced to several years of "loss of freedom" at hard labor in concentration camps. And a farmer deals with *two governments*: in daytime with the Russians, at night—with the Lithuanian underground authorities.

A farmer managing 30 ha. farm, must deliver 4,000 kilograms of grains, 4,500 kg. of potatoes, 800 kg. of meat, and specified amounts of hay, wool, eggs, butter and milk to the state. Terms are fixed for such deliveries, usually between fall and Christmas. However,
[461] local Executive Committees pay no attention to the fixed terms: they engage in "socialistic competition" to surpass each other in making record deliveries and set the high mark of "voluntary contributions in excess of the quotas." Fixed contingents are not enough: excess quotas are fixed and announced, by armed militiamen, to the exploited farmer as "voluntarily assumed duties of the area inhabitants," plus "voluntary sales to the state" of about 20% in excess of the quota. Detachments of militia ravage the countryside collecting the levies ahead of time. Once the quotas and excess quotas are met,—a distant "sister republic" somewhere in the Altais "challenges" Lithuania to a "socialistic competition." Immediately, tens of thousands of militia and MVD troops descend on the poor farmers to seize "voluntary contributions" in addition to negligently exposed wristwatches, cash, suits, etc. The waylaying of women and girls begins, etc. If "challenges" are repeated, new waves of armed official robbers descend. . . .

This shameless policy of exploitation ruins the farmer. He no longer has bread nor seeds, and is glad to get away from the armed communist terrorists and to settle on a kolkhoz or anywhere out of reach of the collectors of "voluntarily assumed quotas"—but he is fooled, as challenges to "socialistic competition" by distant kolkhozes omit no one. . . . Nothing at all is paid sometimes for the seized stocks, even though the collectors possess signed receipts of payment. And all the time the harrassed farmer must listen to Russian profanity and hear himself called "people's enemy," "kulak," "saboteur," "reactionary," "exploiter," etc.

[511] Workers employed in the kolkhozes and sovkhozes receive but 10% of the minimum standard of living. For this reason, every inhabitant of a state-operated farm and institution MUST steal to protect his family from hunger and nakedness.

The duty of providing "stoykas" is very oppressive. Farmers must provide carriages and horses for postal deliveries, to transport government officials and their Katyushas from place to place, to cut and tote fixed contingents of timber, to transport grain contingents, carry gravel and repair the roads, etc. Of course, a member of the family must accompany the cart. During the German occupation, it was safer for women to accompany the carts. But no woman of any age may risk exposure to Russians. . . . Occasionally the driver and the horse disappear for months—transporting officials to distant places or carting materials for mili-

423 tary constructions. A family owning one horse must
656 transport 30 cords of timber to fixed stations. The owner of two horses must double the quota, in winter.
[311] In 1947, about 40% of arable land of Lithuania was unplanted, and the diet of the rural population suffered a catastrophic decline. Few tractors are available. Threshing machines were nationalized. Bribes are required to gain any assistance from the Russian managers of the MTS stations—and people prefer not to deal with the drunken and greedy representatives of the "master race." Forests are systematically destroyed and forest fires are not combatted. The MVD-MGB troops quite frequently set fire to the forests in order to "smoke out" guerrillas.

There was even less incentive to work for Russia in 1948. At least one half of the arable land went untilled. . . .

Industry

433 Peat production dropped to one-third of the level
377 of the German occupation period. Very little coal is brought to the country. For these reasons, there is a severe shortage of electric power. City dwellers must provide their own heating—for apartments, institutions and schools.

The official press occasionally reports that certain officials "abuse their office" by driving to some village, demolishing "deserted homes" and forcing the neighboring farmers to transport the lumber to the city as fuel. . . . Due to the prevalent bureaucracy and chaos, government buildings and student dormitories go unheated for weeks. Therefore, dormitory inhabitants or the office force of this or that institution mobilize and follow the example of the dignitaries: they descend on and transport deserted homes (in parts) in a "socialistic competition" to keep themselves warm. . . .

433 Brick production dropped for lack of skilled man-
[329] power. The brick works of Rokai and Palemõnas produce for the army exclusively. No bricks and no tiles are available for sale to private citizens. Therefore, bricks and tiles figure in a lively black market exchange for horses.

Not a single cement plant is in operation—except on paper, in the boastful reports of "achievements" of the Russian dignitaries. The cement plants of Akmenė and Skirsnemunė are still in the stage of paper planning, though included in the five-year plan to be consummated by 1950.

[288] The textile plants of Klaipėda are idle. The Drobė plant of Kaunas is under reconstruction. The Litex and Audiniai plants began operating. The Linas plant produces for export to Russia exclusively.

The hide tanning plants of Šiauliai and the glass factories of Radviliškis and Aleksotas are operating. Dairies were mostly reactivated. The huge Maistas stockyards and canneries were burned down in Kaunas, and feeble efforts at reconstruction are forging ahead. The Maistas plant in Panevėžys is operating but production is small. The plant at Tauragė still lies in ruins.

The beet sugar refineries of Marijampolė and Panevėžys resumed operations. The paper and cardboard plant produces inferior quality products. The railway yards and repair shops of Kaunas are being expanded. The factories, as a rule, produce for war and export to Russia. The present production level amounts to less than 50% of the 1939 level.

497 Railroad traffic is lively: military trains pass Kaunas every few minutes. A single passenger train circulates daily between Vilnius and Kaunas, and one train operates every other day between Kaunas and Šeštokai.

499 505 Graveled highways go unrepaired, showing ever greater deterioration. Few ships and barges are seen on the Nemunas, as most of the fleet managed to escape to Denmark in 1944.

465 511 All artisans were driven into "artels": excessive taxes did the trick.

[435] Wages are low and working hours are long. Prices are twice as high as in Moscow: one week's wages is spent on a kilogram of butter. In 1945 butter was transported from Lithuania to Moscow in an "airlift operation," by planes. The Muscovites liked Lithuanian butter—and butter is still exported, depriving the Lithuanians of their diet. Numerous deductions are withheld from wages—up to one half, including "voluntary" subscriptions to state loans, etc.

In consequence of the meager pay, every worker attempts to steal whatever he can, and to sell the stolen products in the black market. Lately the bureaucracy—itself most guilty of embezzlement—began penalizing the workers with harsh penalties. Nevertheless, the practice of stealing is universal, and the Russian officials set the pace. Whenever the so-called "exemplary state farms" call for volunteers to assist in planting or harvesting—there are enough volunteers who anticipate a chance to "hook something."

The morale of factory workers is as low as that of the farmers. The living conditions steadily deteriorate. Discontent over "stakhanovite efficiency," long working hours, low pay, lack of clothing, etc. is widespread. In the early part of 1948 the regime abandoned its choicest proffer to workers—the bait of appointment [554] to managing posts. Today, there is a tendency to build up cadres of skilled specialists, a privileged caste of people in uniform—even telegraph post climbers wear uniforms. . . .

Moral Situation

000 Symbols of Russian "culture" and ways of life universally exhibited by the "masters and victors" are—violence, profanity, drunkenness, thievery, deceit and raggedness.

685 Any criminal tendencies among the natives were drastically curbed by the underground authorities. Felonies were penalized by death sentences—and the sentences were carried out. But thieving is uncontrollable in the factories and in the supply services.

273 186 The Russians and their bootlickers revel in continual drunkenness. Vodka is the universal form of bribe. Unfortunately, the brutal conditions of life affected the Lithuanians to a certain degree, too. People are tempted to forget bitter reality for a half hour at least. The resistance movement continually wages a press propaganda against alcoholism ("Don't be like a Russian!"). For strictly practical considerations of maintaining a supply service for its armed units, the resistance movement repeatedly issued orders banning home distilling and any waste of the much needed grains. The Russians, however, pursue a definite policy aimed at demoralizing the natives and weakening their moral standards. Vodka is dumped on the market in unlimited unrationed qualities. But — the Church is still permitted to preach against the evils of drunkenness.

19a

000 Prostitution and rape—are the prevalent preoccupations of the Russian master race representatives in Lithuania. Roughly one-half of Russian males and females are venerics. Venereal diseases are treated gratuitously in governmental "ambulatories," but there is a shortage of sulfa.

186 There is little, if any, fraternization with the Russians. There had been cases of women marrying Russians in the cities, but the rural population, most exposed to Russian excesses, hated them from the start. Cases of desertion of the city "brides" by their Russian husbands who appropriated the "dowry," gained quick fame throughout the country, and such marriages became exceptional cases. There is but one known case of a Lithuanian man marrying a Russian woman—commissar Žiugžda.

000 The best evidence of "the high standards of living and culture" of Russia was provided by observation of the Russian armed forces and of the hordes of "*myeshochniki*" and "black cats"—the masses of ragged Russian men, women and children descending on the Baltic countryside with burlap bags over their backs, beggaring and stealing until the bags are filled, and then departing for home. The nickname of "black cats" originated because these Russians meouw as cats at night to induce the unnerved farmers to open their doors to chase the cats away—the "cats" then rob and kill the poor farmer.

There had been many cases of armed assault and robbery by uniformed army officers, militiamen and soldiers. Complainants recognizing the desk officer as their assaulter are "convinced" to forget the matter. Therefore, at night people walk the streets in groups armed with bats, lest a lone traveler feel the pressure of a pistol against his back and hear an order to "*razdyevatsya*" (disrobe) . . . . In the rural areas, only Russian armed detachments and guerrilla patrols travel by night. University students at Kaunas once captured red-handed an MVD officer stealing their bicycles. When a high dignitary missed his bicycle parked in the hallway of another government office, he was told by the militia: "Comrade, we have more important affairs to attend to. I can assure you that the bicycle will not leave the Soviet Union, and it is no concern of ours whether you or another citizen rides it."

Of course, ever present fear is the most horrible phase of life. One never knows when pistol butts will rap on one's door at night. . . .

A few artists met to view a new painting depicting a harvest scene. One wistfully wondered aloud: "What is there *Soviet* in this picture?" The painter interrupted: "I know—I will say: the reapers. . . . Please observe that they are singing. Of course, they are singing a Soviet song."

At a public function, a factory director praised loyalty to the Party and Stalin. Preikšas, a member of the Party CK, interrupted: "Don't blab. We know that you have the devil in mind. But what of it? We may spit on you just the same. You are slaving for us, and you will continue to slave for us, regardless of the fact that you carry the devil in your head."

With every family mourning one or more of its members or close relatives—the village soirees and dances passed out of existence. No songs are heard. . . .

The curtain of doom seems to have descended on Lithuania and the other Baltic Republics.